ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED001980	N.A.	G415	

4. AUTHOR(S): Pettigrew, Thomas F.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: Epitaph for Jim Crow

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
ST. 315 Lexington Avenue
CITY, STATE New York, New York
TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue New York, New York 10016

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1964	59

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED YES ☒ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR Textbook

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

Harvard University	cultural institutions	Negro aspirations	Negroes
Negro problem	colonial Negro	social science	
social institutions	rural areas	race relations	
	politics	white supremacy	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Based on a series of films produced by WGBH-TV, Boston, under the auspices of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Eptitaph for Jim Crow presented different aspects of the Negro problem in America.

The first chapter, "A Tale of Two Ladies," emphasized a knowledge of the Negro role in America's social and cultural institutions and the personal qualities and special points of view of individuals involved.

The second chapter, "Fourteenth Generation Americans," presented the role of the Negro over 350 years, emphasizing the fact that he had progressed more in the last generation than in any other.

"The Newest New Negro" explained how the Negro of today differed from the Negro of the past. He had moved out of the South's rural areas into the largest cities; he had made gains in the political and economic spheres; and he had raised his aspirations faster than ever before.

The fourth report, "Face to Face," reported that the many social science principles related to the Negro in America were being discussed and acted upon; therefore, race relations have improved.

The last report, "Conformity and the Crutch," explained that intolerance of the Negro by the Southerner was a result of an attitude of a white supremist culture, not of a crutch-type attitude .

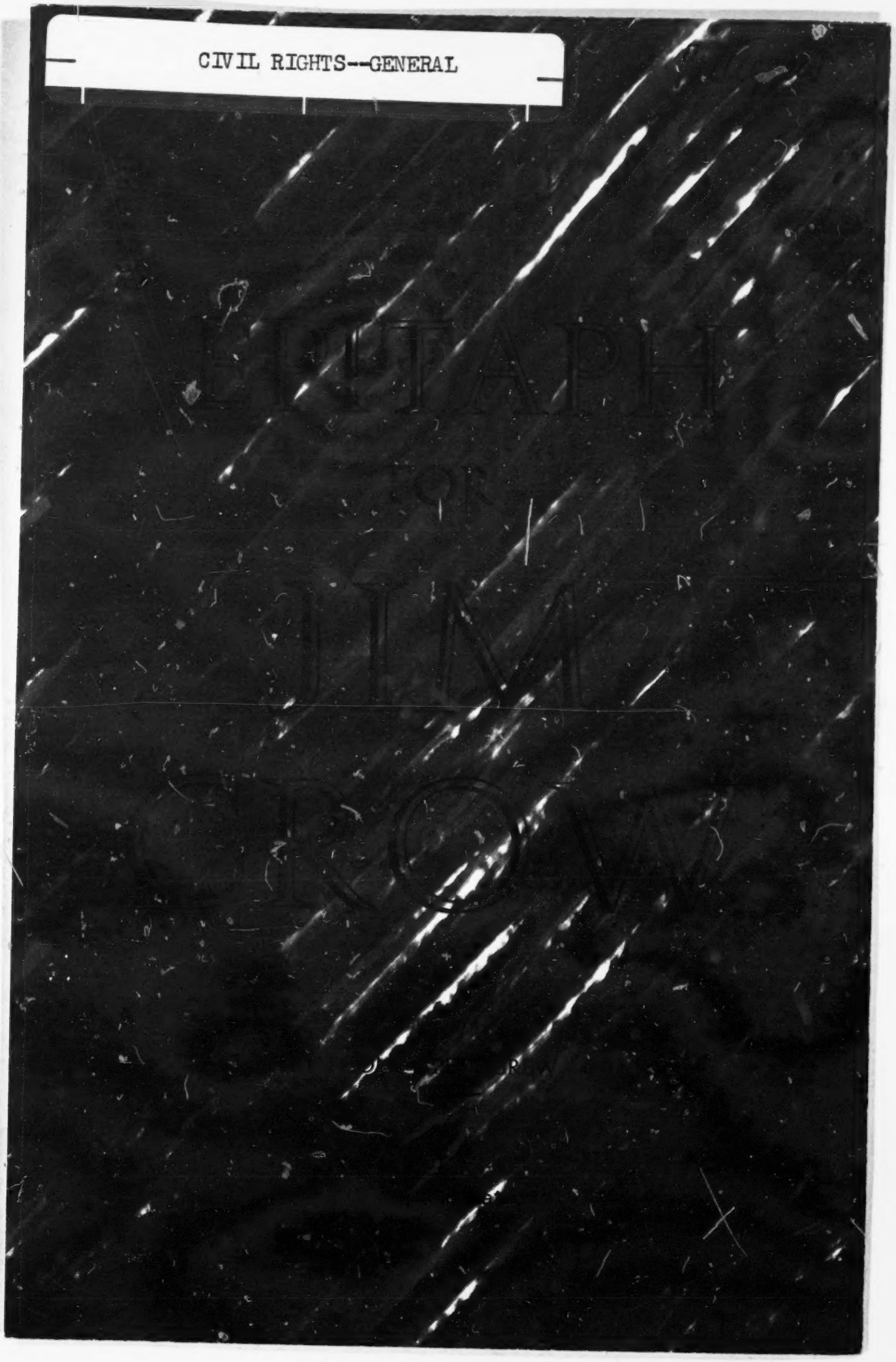
ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1



REPRINTED BY PERMISSION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN PRINTED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

IC

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW

by Thomas F. Pettigrew

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

© 1964 by Thomas F. Pettigrew

Epitaph for Jim Crow is based on a series of films produced by WGBH-TV, Boston, under the auspices of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, with the assistance of the Commonwealth School of Boston, the Claudia B. and Maurice L. Stone Foundation, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The full text of Dr. Pettigrew's lecture films in this series is to be published by McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. *The Profile of the Negro American*, based on another section of this series, will be issued by D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc.

Dr. Thomas Pettigrew is a member of the Department of Social Psychology, Harvard University, and a native of Virginia.

Office of Education-EEOP

Research and Materials Branch

A TALE OF TWO LADIES

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

"If you're white, you're right! If you're black, step back!"

So goes a familiar expression among Negro Americans. Its truth is dramatized daily in the restrictions placed on the Negro by the Jim Crow system of segregation—a subtle system in the North, a blatant system in the South. The stark signs of Jim Crow tell the story: *"Whites only," "We wash for white people only."*

In various forms and disguises, segregation has been with us ever since slavery was abolished. The very name "Jim Crow" is made up of two derogatory slang terms commonly used for the Negro. And Negro Americans have voiced their protests against its indignities from its inception.

Consider the case of Mrs. Catherine Brown. One brisk winter day, Mrs. Brown, a charwoman in the chamber of the United States Senate, set out from Washington, D.C., to cross the Potomac River and visit Alexandria, Virginia. Little did she realize that her twenty-five cent round-trip rail ticket entitled her to fire an opening shot in the long struggle against Jim Crow. For this was 1868, Mrs. Brown was a Negro, and her trip was to prove historic.

Her ride over to Virginia was quiet and pleasant, but her attempt to return the same day was neither quiet nor pleasant. No segregation was practiced by the railroad on

its trains leaving Washington, but trains leaving Alexandria had a special car for all passengers "of color." Catherine Brown, however, did not take her seat in the Jim Crow car; instead, she made herself comfortable in a car reserved for whites. A depot attendant soon spotted her and informed her of the Jim Crow car. But Mrs. Brown refused to leave, whereupon, to quote the later legal description, "the man attempted to put her out by great force and violence, with insult and indignities," and "she was compelled to require a physician and remain under treatment." On the advice of a Senate Committee which held a hearing in her shanty home, Mrs. Brown sued the railroad for $20,000 in a local court. The jury decided in her favor and awarded her $1,500. At this point, the railroad defendants took their case on appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The 1873 arguments before the High Court have a mid-twentieth century ring, even though the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Constitutional Amendments were not involved. The case revolved in large part around the meaning of the congressional charters to the railroad which asserted that "no person should be excluded from the cars on account of color." The railroad lawyers contended that this provision was met by the separate Jim Crow car that assured that no Negroes would be excluded from the entire train. Mrs. Brown's lawyers disagreed, however. They maintained that the charter provision meant no racial discrimination and that separate facilities were in themselves discriminatory.

The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Mrs. Brown, upholding the lower court's action. And on the matter of separate cars, the Court opinion portended the future by reaching the same conclusion the Warren court reached in the school desegregation cases in 1954: namely, that separate racial facilities can never be equal by the very fact of being separate.

In 1955, eighty-seven years after Mrs. Brown had refused to yield her train seat, the scene was repeated in Montgomery, Alabama. Mrs. Rosa Parks, a middle-

aged Negro seamstress, started home one evening, weary from her day's work at a department store. After boarding the city bus and walking past the reserved white section in front, she slumped into the first seat of the Jim Crow section in the rear of the bus. Soon the bus filled with passengers and the driver ordered her and three other Negroes to give up their seats for white men who had just boarded. The other Negroes complied with the order, but Mrs. Parks, just as Mrs. Brown before her, quietly refused. She was arrested at once.

Four days after the arrest, Mrs. Parks was tried for disobeying the city segregation ordinance. She was, of course, found guilty and fined $10.00 plus $4.00 court costs. The case made an excellent test of the legality of segregation and was immediately appealed. Six months after the arrest, Alabama federal judges ruled that the city bus segregation statutes were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of our national Constitution. Later, the Supreme Court itself upheld this lower court ruling.

Although there had been many previous arrests following similar bus incidents throughout the whole South, this was the arrest that ignited the Negro community. Mrs. Parks was highly respected among the city's Negroes. A soft-spoken, much admired woman, her arrest shocked Negro leaders. In a matter of hours, the idea of a boycott against the buses had been formulated and agreed upon. Within 24 hours, mimeographed leaflets telling of the arrest and calling for a boycott had been widely distributed.

The boycott began in earnest during the trial and picked up momentum until virtually no Negroes were riding on Montgomery's buses. A new leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, became the chief symbol of this protest:

> *"This, to my mind, is one of the greatest demonstrations of the fact that Negroes are not satisfied with second-class citizenship, with segregation, and with the lack of voting rights. So that this should convince the senators and representatives that Negro citizens of the United States are determined to be free."*

The rest of America, indeed, the world, watched fascinated as these developments unfolded. The non-violent

bus boycott idea spread quickly to other American cities and even to South Africa. The Montgomery movement, triggered by the quiet seamstress, had become a major turning point in American race relations.

Even more important than the legal victory achieved in Montgomery was the impetus and form the boycott gave to the Negroes' protest in America. The technique of non-violent protest was added to the legal and political weapons that had long comprised the Negro arsenal. Soon the technique would be fashioned by Negro youth into sit-in and freedom ride demonstrations against Jim Crow.

Catherine Brown and Rosa Parks both acted in times of great social change and racial progress. Yet neither incident was premeditated or planned. Though each of the actions set off a train of historic events, both were brought about by a simple demand for the American dream of equality to apply in direct and concrete ways. Both women had passively complied with racial discrimination throughout their whole lives. But on these occasions they were exhausted, returning home after a long day. Each of them, in Mrs. Parks' words, was "fed up" with Jim Crow.

Right now, the actions of Negro Americans as determined and as "fed up" as Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Parks are steadily inscribing the epitaph of Jim Crow. Indeed, race relations have become the most publicized and important domestic problem facing our nation today. But no national concern is so clouded by emotion and misinformation as race relations. A rational understanding of the problem's complexity by thoughtful Americans is sorely needed. Most of us, however, have either tried to ignore the problem or have relied on dangerously oversimplified explanations. For example, imagine the following conversation:

First Gentleman: "Here it is again in the paper. More trouble with the whites and the Negroes down South."

Second Gentleman: "Well, what's surprising about that?"

First Gentleman: "I just don't understand. I mean, why don't they leave well enough alone?

Why do we have these men like Martin Luther King? This NAACP stirring up trouble? It gives America a bad look overseas."

Second Gentleman: "I think the Negroes have a real gripe. They've had it rough ever since they were slaves. The whole problem is slavery. If we'd never had slavery, there would'nt be any trouble today."

The first gentleman simply denies the problem and resents the activities of those who force him to recognize that everything is not perfect in race relations. If he had brown skin like Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Parks, he would find it difficult to ignore the second-class citizenship granted dark Americans.

The second gentleman, however, faces the problem and makes an important *historical* point. Slavery, particularly in its unique American form, did plant the roots of present-day discrimination against Negroes. In a real sense, the two Negro ladies were forced to surrender their seats because the slave status so long associated with brown skin still had force in 1868 and even in 1955. This and other historical considerations are important first approximations to understanding American race relations. In bold and sweeping strokes, *history* outlines the scope and direction of the process. But the second gentleman errs in grossly over-simplifying the problem. Many other parts of the world, Brazil, for instance, had slavery even longer than the United States and today have race relations patterns very different from ours. Nor can he explain why, with almost everything else changing at an unprecedented rate, there has been so little change in race relations over the past century that two such similar seating incidents could happen eighty-seven years apart.

Obviously, no one factor, such as slavery, can do justice to the complexity of race relations. Yet how often do we continue to hear such simple theories and simple solutions? Consider these three viewpoints:

"This whole business of race pivots on the point that the South is a poor agricultural area. When more industry comes into the area, desegregation will come right in on its heels."

"Oh, I don't think industry has anything to do with it. That doesn't make people like other people any more. I think the whole problem is that these people don't have enough contact with one another. If we could only get the Negroes and the whites together more, like at Brotherhood Week dinners."

"Oh, you can blame it on anything you want, but I know these Southerners. They are just a bunch of stubborn bigots who naturally hate the Negro. Take it from me, nothing is going to change their minds."

Ralph McGill, the noted publisher and columnist of the *Atlanta Constitution,* once remarked that racial desegregation was introduced into the South by the boll weevil. This incisive insight refers to the vast social changes that have been occurring in the South during the past few decades, with the boll weevil acting as a vital impetus to the South to release itself from the clutches of King Cotton. This way of looking at racial change as part of the broader social change going on in society can be called the *socio-cultural* approach, a perspective that updates and narrows our historical analysis.

The first viewpoint stresses the importance of industry by viewing the process from this *socio-cultural* perspective; and, as far as it goes, is perfectly correct. Note that the desegregation of schools and lunch counters tends to occur first in the big modern cities of Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, Houston, Dallas. Indeed, Jim Crow is frequently the last vestige of the nineteenth century left in these rapidly growing industrial centers. And it is so out of joint with the times in these cities that it should be obvious that segregation in all its forms is foredoomed. Accurate as it is within limits, this one factor, however, does not offer a complete explanation. Take Birmingham, Alabama by way of illustration. Birmingham is the "Pittsburgh of the South," a big sprawling steel center that meets this over-simplified requirement for desegregation. And yet this city has been the scene of repeated racial violence in the last decade; it is one of the areas most defiantly resistant to racial change in the whole South. Nor can the first viewpoint explain why many white Southerners approved of Mrs. Parks' arrest and many

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

others living in the same communities were deeply ashamed. We are dealing with a most complex phenomenon.

The second viewpoint adds still another dimension —that of contact between races in various situations. This *situational* dimension cannot be overlooked, for, as Harry Golden of *"Only in America"* fame points out, the particular situation can completely restructure race relations. He notes that as long as everybody is standing up, segregationists do not seem to object to mixing freely with Negroes. Trouble usually begins when the races sit down. So Golden suggested his now-famous vertical plan for desegregation; that is, take out the seats in schools and lunch counters and then desegregate. In time you can revert to seats by first having the students and customers reclining at ten degrees, then twenty degrees, and so forth. For these things, Golden remarks with a glint in his eye, must be done very gradually.

The unfortunate difficulty with the second proposed solution for the problem, simply more interracial contact is that it makes an erroneous assumption. More contact *per se* between groups does not necessarily make for better relations. Negroes and whites have had more contact in the South, for instance, than anywhere else in the nation, and yet it is not conspicuously famous for its interracial tolerance. The crucial point is *what kind* of contact.

Many well meaning people who sincerely want to help in the writing of Jim Crow's epitaph have made the same assumption about interracial contact and have consequently, in my opinion, wasted much of their effort. Brotherhood Week, instead of Brotherhood Year, is one expression of such honest efforts. But such an endeavour largely fails because it does not directly confront Americans, as Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Parks confronted us, with a concrete problem that must be solved. Indeed, Brotherhood dinners held each year at $50 or $100 a plate, run the risk of allowing influential Americans to relieve their guilt annually over the treatment of their fellow Americans for a modest, tax-deductible sum without actually doing any-

thing. That same guilt directed in a more useful channel is urgently needed.

The third viewpoint gives voice to an oft-heard northern appraisal of the southern scene: the South is full of bigots. It introduces a fourth perspective needed for understanding American race relations—the *personality* approach, the approach which considers the individuals in the process. There are many reasons why a white Southerner discriminates against Negroes. One important reason, to be sure, is pure, unadulterated prejudice and bigotry. But important, too, is the motivation to get along with one's neighbors, to follow the path of least resistance; briefly, to conform to the stern dictates of southern culture. When your parents discriminate against Negroes, when your peers discriminate against Negroes, when your teachers in school discriminate against Negroes, when refusing to discriminate against Negroes means certain social ostracism, you do not have to be a bigot to discriminate against Negroes yourself. So powerful are the South's pressures to conform, one prominent southern scholar, C. Vann Woodward, has observed, that white southern segregationists are not nearly as afraid of Communists, the Supreme Court, Yankees, and Negroes, their four favorite targets, as they are afraid of each other.

We should ask, too, just what our northern friend, who is so impressed with southern bigotry, is doing to aid race relations himself. Is he one of the many white northerners who believes in desegregation for the South, but who refuses to have Negroes buy homes in his neighborhood? If he is, then he fits perfectly the favorite, even if strange, defense of the southern segregationist: namely, that the North is as guilty of mistreating the Negro as the South. Ever since Catherine Brown's fateful ride in 1868, both regions have been excusing their own forms of Jim Crow by emphasizing the sins of the other region. Both the North and South could make a strong case, of course, but two wrongs hardly make a right.

Let's examine still another typical discussion of American race relations:

"But it's different here in the North. We can't understand how the average white Southerner feels about the race problem. They might have a point. Look, if we lived down there, we would probably look at things the way they do. We'd probably think differently about the integration of schools and restaurants and buses."

"That's right, and, if you asked me, the Negro ought to improve himself before he demands acceptance by the white people."

Two more perspectives from which to view race relations have been added by these people. The first person is particularly concerned with how white Southerners themselves perceive race relations, and thus contributes yet another perspective from which the problem must be viewed. Unlike the previous four approaches, his *perceptual* approach attempts to study the problem through the eyes of the people in the situation; for how *they* look at the process, and not how *we* look at it, obviously directs their behavior.

How, for example, did the Montgomery bus driver interpret his calling of the police to arrest Mrs. Parks? To guess what he thought on the basis of what the most vocal southern sources say—the politicians, the segregationist newspaper editors, and the organized resistance groups—is most dangerous. Instead, we must turn to public opinion poll studies to cut through the racist din set up by these loud and conspicuous interpreters of the southern scene. When we do, we find that polls show four out of five white Southerners are in favor of racial separation of public facilities. But they also show that four out of five of these same people realize that racial desegregation is inevitable. Furthermore, research in Charlottesville, Virginia, indicates that white attitudes slowly but steadily become more favorable toward school desegregation after school desegregation has been in operation for a while. You would hardly expect this attitude listening to the professional racist, but most white Southerners actually expect and accept desegregation, even if they do not welcome it. In other words, the handwriting on the wall is now so clear that even illiterates can easily read it.

The sixth and final perspective we need to evaluate American race relations properly is introduced by the sec-

ond man in the discussion. By contending that Negroes need to improve themselves before demanding acceptance by whites, he raises questions about the object of the whole desegregation process—the Negro American himself. This last approach might be called the *stimulus-object* approach. There are many important issues to be raised from this perspective, but our discussant is laboring under two popular and damaging misconceptions.

First, he apparently believes that Negroes should advance under handicaps never faced by white Americans; that is, that the Negro must prosper under Jim Crow denials of adequate education, employment, housing, etc., before desegregation should occur. If he is genuinely interested in the advancement of Negro Americans, it would be more logical for him to work for the end, not the perpetuation, of segregation. He also seems to feel that the goal of current Negro protests is "acceptance by the white people." Now apart from the racial conceit and arrogance implicit in this assumption, our friend is ignoring the essential simplicity of the Negro American's aims: namely, to be allowed to be more, not less of an American; to be a first class citizen with full rights and personal dignity. Remember the simple demands of Catherine Brown and Rosa Parks; they did not ask for white acceptance as such, but merely for a seat on a public conveyance. Indeed, Mrs. Parks was already in the Negro section and wearily wanted only to retain her seat at the end of a long day.

Thus, the epitaph for Jim Crow is being written in many different ways. If we are to understand this exciting process, we must not limit ourselves to a single, narrow perspective or to a casual, global statement that does not do justice to the problem's complexity. We must trace its historical roots, see its development in our social and cultural institutions, allow for the influence of the particular situation, and think of the personal qualities and special points of view that the individuals in the process possess.

Most important of all perhaps, we need to remember the effects of segregation on Negroes and the quiet courage of such Americans as Catherine Brown and Rosa Parks.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION AMERICANS

"I am a fourteenth generation American. My family's arrival on this continent is part of the history of Western exploration and expansion. Under a royal charter from King James of England, Scotland and France, the London Company dispatched three ships—the Sara Constant, the Godspeed and the Discovery from London in late winter of 1606-07. Under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, 191 voyagers were charged by His Majesty 'to plant in any of the territories of America, between the degrees of thirty-four and forty-one from the equinoctial line northward, a colony for His Majesty.' In late April 1607, they entered the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay and forthwith established the settlement, Jamestown, in honor of the King."

"I am a fourteenth generation American. My people landed in Jamestown in late August 1619, in a ship commanded by Captain Jope. The name of the vessel is not recorded, but it was flying the Dutch flag. The record of its arrival says, 'It brought not anything but twenty and odd Negroes which the Governor and Chief Merchant bought, at the best and easiest rates they could...' My people have been part of American history for over 350 years."

Since their arrival in Jamestown, Negro Americans have been an integral part of our nation, but they have been denied their full rights as citizens because of their color. Their history is at once a shameful and a proud part of our national heritage: shameful in that our country could have countenanced such rank discrimination against a tenth of its citizens for so long; proud in that our darker

citizens have had the type of persistent faith in American democracy which has enabled them to maintain their weary struggle for over three centuries.

The long struggle began, of course, with slavery, which left a stigma still to be found throughout much of the United States today. But why did slavery leave such a deep and lasting scar upon our nation, while other areas of the world such as Brazil, which had the institution longer than we, more successfully threw off its effects? The answer to this important question seems to lie in the peculiar nature of slavery under English law.

Historian Frank Tannenbaum has pointed out that the Iberian countries of Spain and Portugal, unlike England, had centuries of experience with slavery prior to the founding of the New World. Hence, under Iberian law, there evolved a special category for the slave as a human being. But English law, unfamiliar with the institution, had no such special category and treated the slave as merely dehumanized property, no different legally from a house, a barn, or an animal.

Under Spanish law, the slave could marry a free person if the slave status were known to the other party. Once married, the couple could not be sold apart, except under conditions permitting them to live together as man and wife. The English law recognized no marriage relation between slaves. There was no question of the right of the owner to sell his slaves separately, without regard to the separation of husband and wife or mother and child.

Spanish law proclaimed the following: "He who kills his slave intentionally must suffer the penalty for homicide, and if the slave dies as a result of punishment without intention to kill, the master must suffer five years exile." In contrast, examine this portion of the English legal code: "If any slave, by punishment of running away or of other offense, suffers in life or limb, none shall be liable to the law for the same. But whosoever else shall kill a slave out of willfulness, wantonness, or bloody-mindedness, shall suffer three month's imprisonment and pay fifty pounds to the master of the slave."

Latin America, emulating Iberian law, never developed the totally dehumanizing stigma surrounding slavery that we did, following English law. This is not to say that slavery was not also cruel in Latin America or that the area has no race problems at present; but the Latin legal definition of slavery left them with less of a handicap.

How could slaveholders treat human beings as mere property, and at the same time believe in the high American ideals of human equality? The answer is that they never did rest easily with this glaring contradiction, though they tried as best they could to rationalize and excuse the conflict. Into the nineteenth century, those who believed in slavery generally employed religious rationalizations. Slavery was an effective method, some claimed, to introduce Christianity to the African heathen. God had willed that the black man serve the white man, claimed others, who rather loosely interpreted selected passages of the Old Testament. Here is a portion of an actual sermon based on Genesis nine and ten:

> *"The descendants of Shem migrated eastward and occupied most of Asia; the descendants of Japheth migrated westward and ultimately occupied the continent of Europe, while the children of Ham moved southward and occupied the continent of Africa. This brief record, while affirming the unity of the race, also implies an all-wise Providence is responsible for the distinct racial characteristics which are chiefly responsible for segregation of racial groups across the centuries and in our own times."*

In time, however, these rationalizations lost their potency. For one thing, by the nineteenth century Negroes increasingly were becoming Christians. Indeed, as an oppressed people, they often seemed to grasp the profoundness of the New Testament message of an oppressed Christ at a level that white Christians seldom obtained.

Just as religious rationalizations were losing their force, new biological ideas were being introduced, for the nineteenth century was the age of Darwin and biological thinking. Almost desperately, guilty white Americans seized these ideas and fashioned them into the divisive and dangerous concept of racial superiority. New religion did not

have to be invoked; Negroes were slaves of Caucasians simply because they were born inferior. They were, so the reasoning had it, a lower order of human development in a Darwinian sense. Naïve and vicious as this seems today in the light of the vast advances in biology and genetics of recent generations, this racist reasoning seemed logical to all but the thoughtful, for all one had to do was look around. Were not slaves obviously inferior to their masters in intelligence and manners? And were they not happy and childlike in their behavior? And if such things are all biologically determined, is this not proof that whites are racially superior to Negroes? Such was the argument, for the sweeping importance of environment and opportunity was not well understood at the time, particularly by those who needed the racist myth to bolster their own self-images and to allay their guilt over the treatment of fellow human beings.

As a matter of fact, the racist rationalizer could point to the lowly condition of the free Negro as well as that of the slave. Though technically free, these Negroes in the South were restricted, too, in almost every conceivable manner. Most Southern states kept their free Negroes from voting, denied them their right to assemble, granted them no equality in the courts, circumscribed their movements, and withheld education from them. Consequently, many of these free Negroes slipped below the living standards of even the slaves, who at least enjoyed a modicum of paternalistic benefits in their status as property. Though again restrictive environment led directly to their desperate plight, the free Negroes of the South were often cited by guilty white Southerners as proof that Negroes were just children who needed the protection of slavery.

Free Negroes fared little better in the North prior to the Civil War. Violent anti-Negro strife flared up in Utica, New York City, Philadelphia and other Northern cities in the 1830's and '40's. And many Northern cities were establishing separate Negro schools. Indeed, Massachusetts did not abolish segregated schools until 1855, when finally the abolitionist spirit put the torch to local sentiments concerning slavery.

This nationwide discrimination against the free Negro prior to the Civil War furnished a natural and convenient precedent for handling the emancipated Negro after the conflict. For example, the ink was barely dry at Appomattox before North Carolina had legislatively applied to the new free men the same restrictions, burdens, and disabilities that it formerly applied to free Negroes in that state. Other Southern states passed similar statutes. In short, the full fruits of the most dramatic action in Negro American history—the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation—were being denied by the South as soon as the Civil War ended.

Then the Reconstruction Era began in 1867. The victorious Union retained its military occupation of the South and set up new state governments. Today, segregationists liken the Reconstruction period to the depths of the Dark Ages. But we must not forget that this period witnessed the repeal of anti-Negro laws and the passage of anti-discrimination laws throughout the whole South. Many Negroes assumed important public office, and those with education proved capable. Mississippi, for instance, was ably represented by Senator Bruce, who was a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio. The great tragedy of this period, however, is that no World War II Marshall Plan was employed to strengthen the South's sagging economy and thus make more permanent these sweeping changes in race relations.

It is wrong, however, to assume that the South reverted immediately to white supremacy when the Reconstruction era drew to a close in the 1870's. C. Vann Woodward, in his fascinating historical volume, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* has carefully documented his contention that segregation did not rush in as a system until very late in the nineteenth century. Segregationists today are fond of saying that segregation of the races has always been traditional in the South. They choose to ignore this interesting ten to fifteen-year period after Reconstruction when Jim Crow did not in fact exist. It was not until the North had grown tired of race relations problems, and the South was faced with state political crises, that legal racism

returned. Throughout the South, state government scandals and a powerful agrarian revolt movement made it expedient to use the Negro once again as a convenient scapegoat. "White men have to stick together," argued the conservative politicians, who feared a class coalition between Negro and "poor white" voters. Other whites feared that many uneducated Negroes would sell their votes to the wealthy politicians.

In the late nineteenth century, Henry W. Grady, the Atlanta leader for the industrializing New South, said, "The worst thing that could happen would be for white people of the South to stand in opposing factions with the vast mass of ignorant or purchasable Negro voters between. Consider such a state of affairs. If the Negroes were skillfully led, and leaders would not have been lacking, it would have given them the balance of power, a thing not to be considered."

By the turn of the century, Southern states, one by one, were disfranchising the Negro. Between 1890 and 1910, a whole complex of Jim Crow laws was enacted—separate railroad cars, separate taxis, separate lunch counters, separate waiting rooms, separate doorways. Later on, Oklahoma required separate telephone booths; Arkansas required separate gambling tables; and many courts began to use separate Bibles to be sworn upon.

In the one hundred years that have passed since Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, this particular period marked the very nadir of Negro American fortunes. At this time, lynchings of Negroes were commonplace. This was the period, too, when Western colonialism confidently ruled many of the world's non-whites. But through these dark years, the Negro never lost hope. With quiet and relentless determination, black Americans have succeeded step by step over the past half century in writing Jim Crow's epitaph. Of course, this is a story we are more familiar with than the events in the nineteenth century. We know of the mass migration of the Negro out of the rural South and into the urban North and West; his ever-increasing political and economic power; and his

constant reminder to white America that racial discrimination betrays our highest national ideals.

This struggle to enter the main stream has been a long and gradual one. The popular term, "New Negro," as applied to the currently protesting Negroes is very misleading. It sounds as if Negro Americans had passively and willingly endured their second-class citizenship until recently. But actually the present day "New Negro" is a maturation, *not* a mutation. Negroes have been protesting their treatment in "the land of the free" for centuries. Frequent slave revolts, prior to the Civil War, offer evidence of this. Moreover, since the Civil War, every generation of Negro Americans has been tagged the 'New Negro," for each had its unique form of protest and each seemed new and threatening to surprised whites.

The "New Negro" of 1780: "We, seven Negroes of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, protest on February 10, 1780, in a petition to the revolutionary legislature of our State against the fact that we are subjected to taxation without the right to vote."

The "New Negro" of 1865: "We, the colored citizens of Virginia, resolve that we will not patronize or hold business relations with those who deny to us our equal rights."

The "New Negro" of 1907: "The Niagara Department of Civil Rights devotes itself to the following lines of work this year: To improve travelling accommodations on local carriers in the South; and to force the service of colored men on grand and petty juries in the Southern states."

The maturation process is also seen in the actions of Negro leaders down through the years. For example, Frederick Douglass, the first truly nation-wide Negro spokesman, was a militant Abolitionist and later an insistent demander of full citizenship for Negroes. The son of a slave mother and a white father, Douglass was a slave himself until his escape from bondage in 1838 at the age of twenty-one. A large, handsome, self-educated man, he worked tirelessly for the abolition of slavery as an editor of an influential newspaper, and as a commanding speaker.

And once the Civil War began, Douglass became an active recruiter of Negro volunteers for the Union Army.

He was quite successful, and several all-Negro regiments were formed. But Jim Crow soon raised its ugly head. The Negro soldiers were not promoted or paid in equal fashion to the white soldiers. Angered and hurt, Douglass went straight to President Lincoln to press personally his demands for equal treatment. Lincoln agreed that these were unfortunate practices, and admitted frankly that the low pay for Negro troops was simply a sop for Northern racial bigotry. But he promised he would sign any commission for a Negro that his Secretary of War would present. Though only half satisfied, Douglass left the meeting a firm admirer of Lincoln.

Douglass' admiration for the President was further confirmed by the Proclamation of Emancipation and an incident which occurred during Lincoln's inaugural celebration in 1865. While waiting in the long reception line, Douglass was spotted by two guards, who, claiming to have orders not to admit Negroes, rushed him to the exit. As determined as today's freedom riders to enjoy his rights, Douglass did not accept this kind of treatment passively. Certain that Mr. Lincoln would never allow such orders, he called out to a familiar face in the crowd to tell the President that Frederick Douglass was being detained at the door. Soon he was summoned, and ushered past the whole line, up to Lincoln himself. The President greeted him as "my friend Douglass," and asked him how he had liked his inaugural address that day. Douglass was hesitant about holding up the whole line, and reminded the President that thousands of people were waiting. "No, no," Lincoln insisted, "I want to know what you think of my address." Douglass answered, "Mr. Lincoln, that was a sacred effort."

Douglass went on to hold a number of prominent federal positions. Late in his life, after the death of his Negro wife, Douglass created a national furor by marrying his white secretary. But once again, the proud Douglass was equal to the occasion. "I married my first wife in honor of my Negro mother," he roared back at his critics, "and I married my second wife in honor of my white father."

In 1895, the year Douglass died, another ex-slave assumed national prominence. With a famous speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Booker Taliferro Washington, the founder and president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, gained immediate renown by proposing to both races that: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

Washington was a very different personality from the assertive Douglass, yet he, too, was determined to change the *status quo*. He preferred the velvet glove, however, to the iron fist, partly because of his quiet nature, partly because of the desperate situation in which he found himself. Unlike Douglass, Washington remained in the Deep South and had to contend with the difficult years at the turn of the century. His hopeful theory was that once Negroes gained the technical skills that the expanding nation needed, they would have to be accepted as equal citizens. And his own growing Tuskegee Institute was the embodiment of his theory.

But within Washington, there also burned the spirit of more direct protest. Behind the scenes, he provided thousands of dollars for crucial legal cases that challenged Jim Crow, and he quietly used his considerable influence in Theodore Roosevelt's administration to ameliorate racial injustice. Finally, just after his death in 1915, an article written by Washington was published blasting segregation as totally unjust. Skills alone, he had sadly concluded, were not enough.

Other Negro leaders had reached the same conclusion as Washington. In 1905, a small group of young Negro intellectuals convened at Niagara Falls to organize a militant association for the advancement of Negro rights. Ironically, they were denied accommodations on the American side of the Falls because of their color, and were forced to cross over to Canada to hold their Niagara conference. Later, in 1908, following a bloody two-day race riot in Springfield, Illinois, the very home of President

Lincoln, a group of concerned whites called a national conference on the problem. In 1910, these whites, including in their number such distinguished people as John Dewey, the philosopher, Jane Addams, the humanitarian, and Lincoln Stephens, the newspaper man, joined with the Niagara group to form the now famous National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A few years later, the National Urban League was founded to help Negroes adjust to new urban surroundings. A series of new leaders took up the fight from Douglass and Washington and pressed on for full equality.

The latest development in this unfolding of protest techniques is that of non-violent demonstrations—with Dr. Martin Luther King as the symbol and leader. Thus, as generations have passed, techniques have changed, but the goals and the determination of Negroes have not.

Today's Negro protests against Jim Crow, then, have a long history. Behind the headlines of racial court cases, sit-ins, and freedom rides lie fourteen generations of oppression, an oppression made worse by the antebellum legal tradition of classifying slaves as mere property. But race as an idea and a rationalization for this oppression is only a little over a century old. Indeed, segregation as we know it today in the South is only a little over a half-century old.

Demands by Negroes for full rights as American citizens are as old as Negro-American history itself. And the so-called "New Negroes" who are willing to go to Mississippi jails in order to speed Jim Crow's demise, are following an unbroken tradition of Negro insistence that the "American Dream" be applied to them also.

No longer largely a rural Southerner, the urbanized Negro today has steadily increased his economic and political power. In fact, he has made more progress in the past generation than in any other in our national history. And with the concerned world watching closely, there is no doubt that the next generation will witness an even more rapid rate of progress.

The distinguished poet, Langston Hughes, sums it up for Negro Americans in his poem "I, too":

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll be at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how beautitful I am
And be ashamed—

I, too, am America.

(From *Selected Poems of Langston Hughes.* Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.)

THE NEWEST NEW NEGRO

In the last ten years, new weapons in the battle for desegregation have been developed by the Negro American—weapons such as sit-in protests at lunch counters, freedom ride protests in bus stations and rail terminals, voting campaigns for civil rights, and legal suits for desegregation. Protests against racial discrimination have swept the country from McComb, Mississippi, to New Rochelle, New York. It seems as if suddenly, within the last decade, Negro Americans have decided to tolerate second-class citizenship no longer.

Some have nick-named these Negro protesters the "New Negro." But this term is very misleading. It implies that Negro Americans have passively and willingly endured their second-class citizenship until recently and that these new protesters are somehow a sudden and almost freak mutation. But, actually, today's "New Negro" is a maturation, not a mutation. As even a casual inspection of Negro American history readily reveals, Negroes have continuously protested against their treatment for their entire fourteen generations on this continent. Each new generation of Negroes has refused to accept fully its so-called "place" in American society. Consequently, each new generation, especially since the Civil War, has seemed strangely arrogant and militant to threatened white racists, and each in turn has been tagged the "New Negro."

Today's protester, then, is the newest of the New Negroes. What is different about this newest Negro? In

the first place, the forms of the protests have changed. The aims of full dignity and citizenship are identical with previous Negro generations, but his more direct protests —like the sit-ins and the freedom rides—are new means of attempting to secure these old aims.

The increasing directness of the current protests is itself a result of two major differences between the present Negro American and his predecessors—his changed status in the world at large, and his changed status within the United States specifically.

On the world level, he discovers that his plight is not entirely unique. He sees colored peoples throughout the world gaining their full freedom from colonial powers. And, though his own identification and culture are completely American, he cannot resist feeling pride as he witnesses the emerging African nations come into being. Moreover, he finds that the world is now interested in him, and that now his protests are gaining publicity around the whole globe.

On the national level, even more fundamental changes have been taking place for him. Previous generations of Negro Americans were mostly poor rural Southerners, with little education and largely without the vote. Today, however, the newest New Negro is likely to reside in a large metropolis; though still poor, he is considerably better off economically than earlier generations; and he is very likely to be at least moderately well educated and to possess the priceless American instrument of the ballot.

Let's look at these sweeping socio-cultural changes in more detail. The 1960 census dramatically illustrates the vast amount of Negro migration from the farm to the city in recent decades. Seventy-two per cent of all non-whites lived in urban areas in 1960, a percentage even higher than that of white Americans. Indeed, this figure of seventy-two per cent is three times the non-white urban percentage at the turn of the century. This urbanization of the Negro has taken place in the very largest American cities. Consider, for instance, our five largest cities. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of non-whites

living in New York City and in Philadelphia more than doubled; the number of non-whites living in Los Angeles more than quadrupled; and in Chicago and Detroit the number of non-whites about tripled.

Now behind these staggering statistics lie literally millions of individual stories of migration, of picking up stakes in rural areas and moving into strange, bustling and threatening cities. Between 1950 and 1960 alone, over a million and a half Negro Southerners broke their home ties and left the South. More than a half million went to the Northeast, another half million plus went to the Midwest, and a third of a million more made their homes in the West. Thus, Negro migration is not only involved in moving from farm to city but also a moving out of the South and into non-southern metropolitan areas. This is why the distribution of Negro Americans throughout the nation obviously makes absurd the old and familiar segregationist claim that race relations are somehow only a southern problem and should be left to the South to solve alone.

Within the South, this massive migration has meant that Negroes have been leaving the rural areas most resistant to desegregation and going to the large cities where the desegregation process has already started, even if slowly. The old rural Black Belt, named for the rich black soil, has traditionally had counties where Negroes outnumbered whites. A symbol and a center of racial discrimination, this area is now breaking up. Today, only one southern county in eight has more Negroes than whites, while Negro populations in southern cities have been growing at rates only somewhat less than those of northern cities. These changes in the ratios between the races are not in themselves a guarantee that white attitudes toward the Negro will improve in the South, but these population changes do set the scene for constructive efforts for racial desegregation.

Migration aids the desegregation process in other ways, too. The city allows the Negro to vote, and it offers him better educational and employment opportunities than the

old Black Belt counties. Take voting for example. Combined with important Supreme Court decisions and the recent Federal Civil Rights Laws on voting, the move to the city has meant a rapid rise in Negro voting even in the South. Roughly a million and a half Negroes are registered to vote in the South today, *six* times more than in 1940. The glaring cases of Negro Americans denied the ballot are now concentrated in Alabama, Mississippi, and the rural Black Belts of other deep southern states.

The migration out of the South has meant large concentrations of Negro voters in the key electoral states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and California. It was no coincidence that the 1960 Presidential election was the first in our national history in which both major political parties intensively vied with each other over which could write the strongest civil rights plank into its platform to appeal to Negro voters. Nor was it surprising that the heavily Democratic Negro vote made the difference for Mr. Kennedy in many important states—including such southern states as North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas. Nor is it unusual to find a middle-South politician saying something like:

> *"It would have been hard to imagine twenty years ago, but now I accept every speaking engagement I get over in the Negro community. Why, in my last two elections as Mayor of this city, the Negroes made the difference for me over that wild man who keeps running against me. It's only good politics for me to pave their streets and to name a bi-racial committee to look into this lunch counter segregation trouble."*

Not nearly as dramatic as these political advances are the slow gains in education and employment that accrued to the Negro as he migrated out of the rural South and into the city. Although better than the limited opportunities of the Black Belt, the typical Negro situation still remains distinctly inferior to that of urban whites. The slum schools attended by most urban Negroes cannot be compared with the spacious, well-equipped schools of our homogeneously white suburbs. Poor education helps set up the vicious circle. The poorer your education, the more restricted your job opportunities, the more frequent your

unemployment, the less your income, the worse your housing, and the less likely are your children to get a first-class education.

Let me put all this in human terms by telling you about a friend of mine. He was in junior high school back in the 1930's, doing very well in his studies. But this was a junior high school in Harlem that had traditionally sent its Negro graduates to a technical high school where there was no college preparatory course. So the inevitable happened. My friend was assigned to the technical school, despite his high grades and his burning desire to go to George Washington High School and prepare for college. His mother, however, intervened. Waving her umbrella threateningly in the air, she cornered a school official and refused to leave his office until her son was assigned to George Washington. And she was right, too—for her son has done rather well, to put it mildly. Finishing very high in both his high school and college classes, he went on to become a full professor of psychology at City College of New York and, ironically enough, was one of the prominent social scientists whose material was cited by the Supreme Court in its momentous school desegregation decision in 1954. But how many other Negro boys at this moment sit in inferior schools, get assigned to work below their real capacities and, therefore, are never able to fulfill their dreams or contribute their full potentialities to their nation?

Adding to this vicious circle are the many forms of racial discrimination that beset the Negro American directly. Almost as intense in northern cities as in southern cities, discrimination restricts the Negro as to where he can live and what job he can hold. It frequently keeps him out of the apprenticeship programs so necessary to enter fully into our industrial economy, and it causes him to be the last hired and the first fired in our periodic up and down economic swings. Frequently, employment discrimination is extremely subtle with well-intentioned employers unconsciously using higher standards to judge the Negro applicant. But frequently, too, the discrimination is not

so subtle. This is the kind of reasoning that lies behind the rejection of many Negro applicants:

> *"This came in the mail the other day. The Fair Employment Practices Law. They want me to put it on my wall somewhere. Now we go along with this sort of thing here; racial discrimination is for the South. After all, we have had colored boys running our elevators and working in our stock rooms for years. But this is a pretty big business for this town and we've got to be mighty careful about our highly skilled jobs. I had an opening the other day for an electrical engineer. A good application came to me from the university, but when the boy showed up, he was a Negro. Now he wouldn't have been happy here, he wouldn't have fitted in, it wouldn't have been fair to him if I let him have the job. So I had to wait around until a white man came in. But that wasn't discrimination, that was good common sense."*

But we should not overlook the gains that the newest New Negro has made economically in spite of such discrimination. Though the median or typical Negro family earned only fifty-five per cent as much as the median white family in 1959, even this figure represents a marked improvement over the 1939 figure of thirty-seven per cent. And while the sizeable annual income differential of $2,500.00 still separated the typical Negro and white families in 1959, the Negro family's income is now safely above the subsistence level. In fact, many Negroes can now afford some of the features of America's high standard of living. Moreover, there are numerous indications that further improvements are close at hand. Recent successes by the Federal government in insisting that companies with government contracts hire competent workers without respect to race, religion, or ethnic group should help. And the ever-increasing enrollment of Negro workers in organized labor unions is a vital trend, too, for only through union seniority can Negroes begin to gain job security free from discrimination. A third indication of future improvement involves the state anti-discrimination laws that have now been passed in many northern and western states and that aim to correct racial injustices not only in employment, but also in public accommodations and in housing. While laws are never a full solution in themselves, they offer an important first step; their success, however,

varies in direct relation to how strongly they have been enforced and supported.

But with these steady improvements in his political and economic situation, why, then, does the newest New Negro protest so strongly? Actually, restlessness and revolution generally have followed periods of improvement and change, particularly after people have advanced their position in society to the point where they can begin to appreciate just what it is that they have been missing all these years. The fact is that Negro American frustration has greatly increased, not lessened, during these past two decades of sweeping changes. Though they have made important political, educational and economic gains, their hopes and desires have advanced even more rapidly. In a phrase, they are *relatively more deprived* now than they were in the 1940's. After the primary physiological needs like hunger and thirst are satisfied, the most important element in motivation is the difference between what one has and what one aspires to; the Negro American has now tasted enough of the abundant urban way of life to want full acceptance as a first-class citizen more desperately than ever before.

Mr. Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League, and one of the foremost national Negro leaders today, was interviewed about this:

> *Q: Mr. Young, we have been talking about these sweeping changes only in terms of how beneficial they are for speeding along the desegregation process. But what problems are fostered by these same changes?*
>
> *MR. YOUNG: One of the first problems is to get urban residents to see newly arrived residents in terms of the kinds of hypocrisy practiced by our society. For the problems these newcomers represent have resulted from the deprivations they have suffered in America. Another area of concern is getting people to see new residents not as* problems *but as* opportunities*—opportunities for gaining constructive, productive citizens. After all, the choice is between whether they will be encouraged to be productive people and whether they will become permanently dependent on relief and add only to the crime rates. Still a third problem is to get Americans to realize that passing a law does not resolve a problem. Many people feel that everything is all right if a law is on the books; they*

forget that years of deprivation have left scars. They forget that a special effort is needed to get things moving in the direction of constructive change. We must provide better education, better health services, better recreational services to new residents of cities who bring with them a heritage of deprivation.

Q: What does the National Urban League do to alleviate these problems?

MR. YOUNG: We are a community service agency with a professional staff of over 300 people, operating in sixty-two cities where some sixty-five per cent of the Negro citizens live. Our specific job, as we see it, is to bring Negro citizens and the resources of the community into effective relationship. We feel also that we have a responsibility to know the facts about the problems of Negroes in specific communities and to interpret these facts honestly to the centers of influence within communities.

Q: May we have an example of what the Urban League could do for migratory problems in a particular city?

MR. YOUNG: One of the major problems is that of housing. The Urban League will try to sit with the planning officials of a city when they outline their urban renewal programs and help them plan for expanded population. The League will point out the need for adequate facilities in education and health and will insist that, insofar as possible, the Negro citizen have opportunities to move throughout the city. For limiting him to one area of the city is "social dynamite" (in the words of Dr. Conant); people cannot be crowded together.

Q: Employment is also one of your important areas, is it not?

MR. YOUNG: Yes, and it is becoming more important. In recent years we have been concentrating on placing Negroes in managerial, technical and skilled positions; in the old days we were just looking for jobs. Today, we are helped by the Presidential Executive Order and other legal measures as well as more enlightened employers. Our major concern now is finding employment for the youngster who finishes high school but may not go on to college. The need is to find for this Negro girl or boy the same opportunity that whites have in insurance companies, department stores, and plants with in-service training programs. We are concerned about this marginal person in terms of his skills. It is easier to find jobs for the engineers or chemists, because everybody seems to be looking for at least one "exhibit A" to show how liberal they are. Even universities, I might mention, are looking for these token cases to display to African visitors. We want jobs for

the average Negro citizen, the same kinds of jobs held by the average white citizen.

Q: Are there not some positive aspects of these same problems?

MR. YOUNG: Yes, there are some positives in the picture. I think there have been definite changes in attitudes both on the part of the Negro citizen and the white citizen. There has been a change in the political climate, which means that we can expect more responsible actions from legislators. There is a definite change in the Negro's image of himself. But the next two to five years will be the crucial years in race relations. They can be the most violent and the most destructive, for the tensions that have been building up in the Harlems of this country are very real. There are people who are willing to exploit these tensions, people who will talk about the disillusionment and disappointments and point out that America is incapable of handling these problems. On the other hand, these years can be the most productive, because we have better trained Negro citizens, and we have all the compelling reasons internationally as well as economically for moving ahead. I personally am optimistic. I have this much faith in the basic decency of people as well as faith in just the plain common sense that American people will have. But they must move quickly.

Q: Do you think we have here a kind of benign circle as opposed to the old, familiar vicious circle, that is, as political rights are gained and there are gains in the Negro American's economic power, things will begin to open up?

MR. YOUNG: It is hard to say. I am always a little reluctant to say that housing, or employment, or education is the answer because invariably this seems to provide everybody with an out. The educator says the problem is housing, the employer says it is economics, and the responsibility is passed along. Really all *of these things are at fault. Unless you have a good job you can't get a good house, and unless you have a good education you can't get a good job. All these things are intertwined, and everybody must help. After all, it is an American problem."*

It's an American problem, Mr. Young reminds us, and we've seen some of its broad dimensions in our discussion. We've seen that the current generation of protesting Negro Americans engaging in sit-ins and freedom rides are simply the newest in a long line of "New Negroes." Yet they differ from previous generations in several important respects. They have moved out of the South's rural areas and into the nation's largest cities. They have made definite gains

in the political and economic spheres, though there are still wide differentials existing between white and dark Americans. Finally, we have noted that Negro American aspirations have been rising faster over the last twenty years than their gains. Feeling relatively more deprived in their status as second-class citizens than at any other time in their 350-year history on this continent, the newest New Negro is determined to end forever our national denials of the great American creed of equality.

FACE TO FACE

"If we could only get people together more!" This has long been the goal of many earnest Americans, who sincerely want to improve intergroup relations. And yet, unfortunately, the problem is not so simple.

Think a minute. Jews and Gentiles have more sheer contact in the eastern United States than in any other region, and yet public opinion polls and other measures indicate that anti-Semitism is highest in this very same region. Likewise, Negroes and whites have more contact in the South, and yet the South is not really conspicuous for its interracial tolerance. It almost appears as if the more contact between peoples, the more they get together, the more—not less—prejudice is created.

Actually, this conclusion would be just as hasty and fallacious as the earlier assumption that more contact inevitably leads to more understanding. The crucial questions we must ask concern the kind of contact existing between two groups. What types of contact lead to greater tolerance and trust? And what types lead to greater prejudice and distrust?

The importance of such questions is heightened by their direct relevance to today's racial scene. As the epitaph for Jim Crow is written and desegregation of public facilities becomes a reality, what changes in racial attitudes of both whites and Negroes will come about? Once the races are face-to-face as equals, what effects will there be?

Some initial answers to these questions about intergroup contact have been advanced by the noted social psychologist, Professor Gordon Allport, in his classic work, *The Nature of Prejudice.* After reviewing the many social science studies on the subject, he concluded that four characteristics of the contact situation were of the utmost importance.

First, for tolerance to increase, the two groups must be of equal social status. If the two groups are of widely different status, contact may do little more than reinforce old and hostile stereotypes. In the typical southern situation of interracial contact, for example, the vast majority of Negroes met by white Southerners are servants, porters, and other service workers. Whites soon come to feel that these are the types of jobs best suited for Negroes, that somehow this is their proper "place." To be sure, there are many professional Negro Southerners — doctors, ministers, teachers — but segregation forces them to stay deep within the Negro ghetto, where whites are not likely to meet them. The segregationist who boasts that he really knows Negroes is usually referring to his casual encounters with particular Negroes who have had restricted opportunities.

The next two conditions listed by Allport concern the goals and structure of the contact situation. Before groups can better understand each other, they must be striving for similar goals but not in competition along group lines. For instance, if the San Francisco Giants baseball team were all white and the Los Angeles Dodgers were all Negro, they could play for an eternity and not become more racially tolerant. Fortunately, however, both teams have members of the two races and so the competition for the common goal of winning is not divided along racial lines.

Finally, Allport notes that contact between groups is maximally effective at reducing intolerance when it is supported by the authorities, or by law, or by custom. In sum, then, contact lessens intergroup intolerance when it occurs in the type of situation that allows members of each group to discover the interests and basic humanity they share.

Let me cite some concrete examples. Some years ago, two social psychologists studied the racial attitudes of housewives at four public housing projects in New York City and in Newark, New Jersey. The two New York projects had desegregated their apartments within the same buildings, but the Newark projects segregated their tenants, with all the Negroes living in some buildings and all whites in others. Only the desegregated projects of New York City had the type of interracial contact that met Allport's four conditions. As expected, the white housewives in these projects favorably changed their attitudes toward Negroes far more than the women in the segregated New Jersey projects. The major change that took place among the women in the New York project was that they tended to think of Negroes not so much as a separate group any more, but more as individuals. When questioned by a social psychologist, one lady answered this way:

> *"I thought I was moving into the heart of Africa when I came here. I had always heard things about how they were—they were dirty, drink a lot, were like savages. But after living with them I changed my mind completely. Just like with white people, some of them I like and some of them I don't. You know, they are just people, they're not any different."*

Other studies by social scientists in situations that meet Allport's criteria have led to similar conclusions. For instance, at the beginning of World War II, virtually all Army units were totally segregated. Then, late in the war, when fighting in Europe became desperate, a number of Negro infantry platoons were attached to previously all-white companies and fought side-by-side with white platoons until the completion of the war. Note this situation met all four prerequisites for favorable attitude change. For one of the few times in our national history, Negro and white soldiers were on equal-status terms. Furthermore, they had common goals—namely, to stay alive and win the battle. They were not competing along racial lines; whether a Negro or white infantryman shot the oncoming Nazi was an academic matter. Finally, the contact had the sanction of top authority—indeed, it had been ordered by the Army's high command.

The effects of this contact were dramatic. When questioned later, the vast majority of white solders who had fought with Negroes had radically changed their ideas about the Negro American as a fighting man. Regardless of whether the white respondent was an officer or an enlisted man, whether he was from the North or from the South, he believed in almost all cases that the Negro troops were as good or better than white troops. Many of the white soldiers did admit to a previous belief that Negroes would run in battle; and, of course, a few did run, but the whites could hardly hold it against them, for when the Negroes were running they, too, were running.

The late, great Professor Samuel Stouffer conducted extensive research on the American soldier in World War II. His monumental study illustrates another important aspect of the effects of contact. Professor Stouffer found that despite the fact that their opinions about the Negro as a fighting man had sharply changed, the white soldiers did not change their attitudes toward segregated garrison life back of the lines. In other words, intergroup contact tends to affect attitudes that are directly and specifically involved in the altered situation itself. Such contact does not necessarily mean that a person's whole attitudinal structure will crumble without other situations changing, too. Most of us, instead, manage to rationalize away unusual experiences and refrain from generalizing to new situations. In Allport's words, we are good at "fence-mending" our prejudices and our stereotypes.

The importance of this limited generalization effect for desegregation becomes obvious when we remember that Little Rock successfully desegregated its buses in 1956 without any serious incidents, but one year later became tragically embroiled in its violent school crisis. The effects of the bus desegregation were too limited to benefit the school situation. Likewise, many Southern cities in recent years have had a series of desegregation conflicts—first over schools, then over lunch-counters, then over bus and train terminals. One by one, they finally succeed in desegregating them, but the effects of one situation on the next so far seem to be minimal. In the North, for that matter,

studies have found white union members who overwhelmingly approve of racial desegregation in employment and public facilities, but who nevertheless vigorously oppose residential desegregation.

These limitations of the effects of even optimal contact are a result of the depth and complexity with which segregation has snarled the vital fabric of American life. Untying one knot will not prove a solution, of course, but in time, as the desegregation process unwinds, there should be more of a generalization effect from one situation to another.

Contact of a certain type, then, can help to modify prejudiced attitudes, but frequently with limited effects. Yet modifying prejudiced attitudes is only the beginning; for the elimination of discriminatory behavior is the central problem, and we must not confuse the two. Prejudice frequently does lie behind discrimination, but it is not uncommon to find racially prejudiced individuals who do not discriminate and unprejudiced individuals who do discriminate. Here are some illustrations of attitude and behavior inconsistencies. During the 1930's, a sociologist and a Chinese couple toured the United States and stopped to sleep and eat at 250 different establishments. They were refused service only once. Later, after the couple had returned to their homeland, the sociologist wrote to each of the 250 establishments and asked if Chinese guests were welcome there. Over ninety per cent replied that they did not serve Chinese people — even though they had in fact served the Chinese couple. Here is a clear example of verbal prejudice and rejection combined with no actual face-to-face discrimination. When facing other human beings directly, we often act better than our own attitudes.

Other illustrations of the difference between attitudes and behavior, and the power of the situation to change behavior, range from West Virginia to the Canal Zone. For years in one coal mine in West Virginia, Negro and white miners were totally integrated and treated equally in the work force as long as they were underground. But as soon as the miners came above ground they lived totally segregated lives—even to the extreme of returning to their

homes in separate buses provided by the company, the same company that practiced the traditional desegregation below the ground. Likewise, in the Canal Zone, there is a business street, one side of which is in the American Zone and the other side of which is in Panama. For many years, the facilities on the American side were tightly segregated by race, while no segregation was practiced on the Panamanian side. And yet customers busily conducting their business managed to adjust their behavior easily as they crossed first to one side of the street and then to the other.

Obviously, the miners did not change their racial views each time they went below the ground or came above it. Nor did the Canal Zone residents shift their racial attitudes each time they crossed and recrossed the business street. Behavior and attitudes, then, need not always be congruent; particular situations can structure how most people behave in spite of what attitudes they may harbor.

With these situational principles in mind, we are now ready to evaluate the old controversy about the effectiveness of law. Many sincere observers feel that laws cannot change the hearts and minds of men and that the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings are, therefore, ill-fated efforts. Segregationists, naturally, readily agree. But what does modern social science have to say about this problem of the effects of law?

The general assertion that laws cannot change our prejudices and feelings certainly sounds reasonable, but it ignores a vital intermediate step. That is, laws certainly do change behavior, and once behavior is changed, the hearts and minds of men often follow suit. In fact, many social science studies indicate that it is usually easier and more effective to change behavior first and then have attitudes change accordingly, than it is to first change attitudes and then behavior. For example, when the Merchant Marine some years ago desegregated its crews and allowed Negro sailors to be promoted to all positions on ship, a study was done of the white sailors' racial attitudes. It found that this new equal-status contact led to greater tolerance—in fact, the white sailors tended to change their attitudes more

with each new desegregated voyage they took. And remember our previous examples. The residentially desegregated housewives and the combat-desegregated soldiers sharply changed their attitudes only *after* their behavior had already been changed. Finding themselves in novel situations and interacting with Negroes in entirely new ways, the Merchant Marines, the housewives and the soldiers managed to shift their opinions to fit with their changed experience. Note, too, that these dramatic changes were brought about by first having authorities — the Merchant Marine, public housing officials, and Army commanders—order the new situations.

Or consider the effects of a law directly. In the late 1940's, New York State passed a fair employment practices law forbidding racial or religious discrimination in the hiring of workers. One result of this law was the hiring of a number of Negro sales clerks for the first time in many of New York City's leading department stores. This new practice set the scene for two revealing studies. One found that white salesgirls became markedly more favorable in their attitudes toward having Negroes as work colleagues once they got used to it.

The second study was performed with customers. Social scientists followed customers who had just been served by a Negro clerk out into the street, caught up with them, and then briefly interviewed them. Some of the customers indicated that they were against being served by Negro clerks. Some claimed never to have seen a Negro clerk, though we know that just five minutes before they had, in fact, been waited on by a Negro. But among those who did recall being served by a Negro, there was solid evidence that the new experience set up by the law had at least dented their prejudices. A person who had just been served in the clothing department, for instance, would tend to say: "Well, I think it's okay in some departments to have Negro clerks, like say in the clothing department, but I wouldn't like to be waited on by a Negro in the food department." But another customer, having just been served by a Negro in the food department, would tend to say: "Well, I think it's okay in some departments, like say in the food department, but

I wouldn't like to be waited on by a Negro clerk in the clothing department." Again we see the limited but definite attitude changes that occur when law has changed behavior first. In time, after a customer has had the opportunity to be served by a Negro clerk in a great variety of departments in a number of different stores, he comes to accept this as simply the way things are done.

Laws, then, can and do change the hearts and minds of men—first by modifying behavior, and by bringing about contact that meets Allport's four conditions for attitude change, following which men fit their new actions to new ideas. And this is especially true for laws and court rulings dealing with desegregation, since these are buttressed by the firmly-rooted ideal of equality of opportunity that stems from the very birth of our nation. In other words, both in the North and in the South, these laws and rulings are supported by America's conscience.

Once we take into account these research studies and the principles they confirm, we can begin to understand why most social scientists are skeptical about the results of getting together groups of different kinds of people at church socials, brotherhood dinners and other such carefully arranged gatherings. In fact, social scientists are not the only ones who are skeptical. Cartoonist Jules Feiffer looks at such gatherings with his usual candor. In one of his cartoons, he has a Negro comment on such artificial social occasions:

> *In the old days I used to get invited to these parties—you know—where the hostess insisted they had to be* integrated *—you know? so they invited* me. *And I'd always meet a whole bunch of official—friendly people—you know—*guys *with strong handshakes,* chicks *who* had *to dance with me. It's not easy being robbed of a choice when the girl is ugly.*
>
> *And sooner or later a couple of these cats would get me in a corner and—we'd all blow smoke at each other and be* enlightened*—and they'd want to talk about civil rights under the Democrats, because there's nothing a liberal loves better than being made to feel guilty—but I wouldn't touch it—I'd talk about my car and baseball and how dull foreign movies are. Until they got so jumpy that* one *of them* had *to bring "it" up. And I pretended to be* surprised *that they'd be in-*

terested in my *problems. But they insisted that being members of the ADA, they considered it* everybody's *problem.*

So I only said I didn't look on civil rights as a humanist *issue. The way I looked at it, it was strictly* self interest, *you know—like it's been a long wait and* I *want* mine. *So a couple of them, here and there, got* restless *about what they called my "extremist" attitude. But all the while they kept* smiling. *As a people, I find liberals very good natured.*

But the party always broke up about an hour early and I could see nobody really got what they came for—except me. *I felt I was subtly pushing a faster rate of social integration. And I was* right.

At their next party they had two Negroes—just in case the first one didn't work out. (From *Boy, Girl. Boy, Girl.* by Jules Feiffer, Random House, 1961.)

Virtually all of these well-meaning efforts are predicated on the erroneous assumptions that contact itself is a panacea and that attitudes and behavior are always congruent. They further assume that the best means of bringing about better intergroup relations is to first change people's attitudes.

Persuasive as they may sound, and true as they may be in individual cases, these assumptions are not generally justified. Contact alleviates prejudice only in particular types of situations, situations that are seldom duplicated at formal interracial teas and banquets, and at Mr. Pfeiffer's cocktail party. Further, we have noted that prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior are not always found together—and in fact are frequently found separately, as with the reactions to the Chinese couple touring America. Finally, we know that the idea of changing attitudes first and hoping behavior patterns will follow suit usually works more effectively in reverse.

Consider Brotherhood Week and Brotherhood Dinners in particular. These events do serve some useful functions. They remind us of our true religious and national ideals, and they strengthen the determination of the already convinced to achieve these ideals in their daily lives. But as a means of convincing the unconvinced, of changing prejudiced attitudes and ending segregation barriers, they appear to be of dubious value at best. A vast body of psychological

data indicates that prejudiced individuals in such a situation as a Brotherhood Dinner will tend to avoid the message altogether, or they will deny the relevance of the message for them, or they will find means of twisting the meaning of the message. Worse yet, by attending the annual Brotherhood Dinner and paying the tax-deductible fifty or one hundred dollars per plate, many prejudiced individuals of considerable influence regularly relieve their guilt. Having gone through the motions, they are free to go right on discriminating as before.

Consequently, most modern sociologists and social psychologists agree that direct action, not socials and dinners, is the most effective way to combat prejudice and discrimination in American life. By direct action, I mean actions that break out of the old patterns of race relations where whites always remain in a superior social status to that of Negroes. I mean anti-discrimination laws, private citizens' fair housing practices committees, sit-ins, and freedom rides, all of which are direct means of establishing new situations of interracial contact where Allport's four criteria are met: equal status, common goals, no intergroup competition, and authority sanction. Direct actions, unlike more speeches and awards for brotherhood, attempt to change behavior, not attitudes, first.

But effective social change is always uncomfortable. Let's be honest; it's easier to let everything stay just as it is. So when direct actions for racial change are made, there is usually a negative reaction, not only from southern segregationists but also from their northern counterparts. Remember the initial comment on the Negro Southerners' sit-in and freedom ride protests. Many seemed to think that the protesters were purposely seeking publicity and trouble, that they were merely rabblerousers (but, of course, to be a rabblerouser, there must first be a discontented rabble to rouse). Often, too, concerned whites who joined in such direct actions were disdainfully called "do-gooders" —a sad commentary on our culture that the term "do-gooders" has achieved a negative connotation. Apparently, segregationist critics prefer "do-nothings" or "do-badders."

But fortunately the protesters have not read their press clippings. They have persevered with their non-violent actions, despite violence against them and internment. And these and other direct actions have successfully achieved more actual desegregation in a few years than all the Brotherhood Dinner speeches combined. Supported by law and court rulings, these direct protests are now generally recognized as a major breakthrough against Jim Crow in modern times.

The most encouraging thing on the American race relations scene today is that the many social science principles we have been discussing are becoming widely understood and acted upon. With every year, more and more groups of private citizens, white and Negro, sincerely wanting to better race relations are turning to intelligent direct action. And, as we have seen, such direct action brings the long-awaited positive changes where mere words and sentiments have failed.

CONFORMITY AND THE CRUTCH

In his book, "The Nature of Prejudice," social psychologist Gordon Allport writes: "Prejudice may become a part of one's life tissue, suffusing character because it is essential to the economy of a life. It does not always act in this way, for some prejudices are merely conformative and essentially unrelated to the personality as a whole."

These words of Gordon Allport are crucially important for understanding our nation's present desegregation process, for they tell us that there are two basically different types of prejudice. One type is conformity, simply going along with the intolerant crowd. But the other type involves deeply-rooted prejudice, when an insecure individual uses prejudice like a crutch upon which to limp through life.

Conformity and the crutch—with these two types in mind, the question arises as to which type of prejudice best describes the typical white Southerner's feelings toward the Negro. Are most white Southerners merely conforming to the demands of an intolerant sub-culture, or do most of them actually possess more crutch-type bigotry? The answer to this question is by no means academic; it has vital consequences for what we may expect in the future. Suppose the South really does have more crutch-type prejudice, more individuals who, in Allport's terms, have allowed prejudice to become a part of their life tissue. If this is true, then the desegregation process is obviously going to have very tough sledding throughout its course, since such individuals struc-

ture their whole lives around prejudice and resistance to racial change. But if white southern antipathy toward the Negro largely consists of conforming individuals, then desegregation can be accepted more easily.

Before we can answer this question, though, we need to look more carefully at these two prejudice types. The crutch-type personality has been the object of intensive research by social psychologists in recent decades. One of their principal conclusions is that the basic problem of the crutch-type individual is a lack of insight into his own behavior and feelings, a refusal to look inside of himself. Stemming largely from his training as a child, the crutch-type person refuses to accept his own emotions, and he tries hard to deny that they are his. For example, as a child the crutch-type individual may have frequently been punished by a stern father, and in turn felt intense hatred for him. Unable to express this hatred for fear of further punishment, the crutch-type found these aggressive emotions threatening and unacceptable. He denied them, and, instead, began to see in others his own aggressive feelings. Thus, he learned early to see in others, or in psychological terms, to *project* on to others, his own unacceptable feelings and emotions. If he felt hatred for his father, then he would see hatred not in himself but in the dangerous outside world around him.

Of course, most of us can remember having had aggressive feelings toward our parents at one time or another, particularly when they found it necessary to punish us. But the significant feature of the crutch-type person is that he has difficulty remembering such times. He has denied that these feelings ever existed. Indeed, if you ask crutch-types to describe their parents, they will typically paint a picture of absolutely perfect and loving parents. While most of us have a differentiated image of our parents, we can see them as human, with some faults as well as many virtues.

Carrying over this idealized picture of his parents to other authorities, the crutch-type person tends to view the world in good-bad, up-and-down power terms. He is generally outwardly submissive, even obsequious, toward those he

views as authorities with power over him. Likewise, he is aggressive toward those he sees as being beneath him in status. This dual attitude toward authority, really two sides of the same coin, has led social psychologists to call the crutch-type individual an *authoritarian personality.*

We can see how prejudice is needed as a crutch by these people. Lacking insight into their inner feelings, they project their own hatred, sexual impulses, greed, and ambition onto others they view as being beneath them. To the crutch-type individual, Negroes are seen as happy-go-lucky, too lazy, too sexually uninhibited—traits that are sometimes attractive to him; so are Jews seen as too hard-working, too greedy, too ambitious—other traits that sometimes attract him. Such people are not just prejudiced against these two groups; they are frequently prejudiced against many groups that are different from their own. One investigator gave a questionnaire that measured prejudice to a group of crutch-type students. Listed in the questionnaire were two groups that do not even exist, the Pireanians and the Wallanians, and the crutch-type students didn't like them either!

In sharp contrast to this deeply rooted, generalized prejudice, the conforming bigot needs prejudice only as a means of getting along with his friends, as a sort of social entrance ticket. He wants very much to be liked and accepted by people around him, and if people around him are anti-Negro, he adopts their attitudes.

Notice the two important differences between the conformity and the crutch varieties of intolerance. First, the individual who is prejudiced for reasons of conformity will have antipathy only toward those groups it is fashionable to dislike. Of course, the groups that are fashionable to dislike will vary according to the region in which you reside—in the West, the Chinese and Japanese Americans; in the Midwest, Scandinavian and Polish Americans; in the Southwest, Spanish Americans; and now in Florida, Cuban Americans. The prejudice of the conforming bigot will not spread and generalize to a great variety of groups, as in the case of the crutch-type. The

conforming individual wants to take the path of least resistance. He needs to be liked, not to hate, so he would never be caught showing animosity toward a group that is not generally looked down upon in his culture.

Second, prejudice that stems from conformity is not deeply-rooted in childhood experiences; it is only an attempt to live up to what others expect. Thus, once the culture and the opinions of friends change, and consequently what is expected of him is altered, the conforming bigot, unlike the crutch-type, sheds his bigotry with relative ease. He goes right on conforming, of course, but the customs and culture he is conforming to have changed. Obviously, this characteristic trait is vital to desegregation—a process which is, in fact, rapidly changing the culture and people's behavior and attitudes.

To understand how these two types of prejudiced people fit into the present southern scene, let's imagine what two southern segregationists might say about desegregation of the public schools in their town.

First a crutch-type:

"It's a terrible thing, the court's forcing us to let the 'Nigras' barge into our white schools. It seems like everybody is out to get us. The whole world is just a jungle full of swindlers. Well, I'm not going to stand for it. I'm fighting back. I don't care what other people are going to do, but I'm not going to send my kids to schools with those lazy, good-for-nothing people —or have anything to do with all these crazy changes taking place nowadays."

Now let us imagine another segregationist at the same time with the same complaint. But notice the subtle differences, for this one is a conformist:

"It's unfortunate that our little town has had to let the 'Nigras' into our white schools. Things were going along pretty well the way they were, and most of us didn't like the idea of integration at all. But, you know something, what really surprised me was the calmness with which these changes were accepted by the people around here. It's not that they like this desegregation business. I don't believe they do, but there sure hasn't been any shouting or yelling about it the way I thought there'd be."

Both of these types can be found in the South, but which is more typical of the vast majority of white Southerners?

Fortunately, both for the South and for the future of the desegregation process, it appears that the conformity-type of prejudiced Southerner is much more common than the crutch-type. Indeed, social science evidence supporting the importance of conformity in southern attitudes on race has been steadily accumulating in recent years. It comes from several different research leads, one of which is the study of anti-Semitism.

Recall that the crutch-type bigot tends to be prejudiced against many different groups; his projection of his own unacceptable feelings is likely to spread to Jews and other groups as well as the Negro. So if the South contained a larger percentage of individuals with crutch-type intolerance, it should also reveal regionally a greater amount of anti-Semitism as well as anti-Negro prejudice. But actually a variety of studies demonstrate that the South, together with the Far West, is less, not more, anti-Semitic than other sections of the nation. For instance, national public opinion polls have repeatedly found fewer anti-Semitic responses in the South than in the rest of the nation. In addition, a study of World War II rumors noted that anti-Semitic rumors were only one-third as prevalent in the South as in the nation at large. And more recently, an intensive investigation by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith of private social clubs and organizations throughout the entire nation concluded that there was less exclusion of Jews from such clubs in the South than in any other region. Some have argued that this lowered anti-Semitism is simply a reflection of the fact that very few Jews live in the South; but such loose reasoning ignores the Midwest, which also has very few Jews and yet ranks with the Northeast in intensity of anti-Semitism.

Consequently, a number of social psychological studies have found many white Southerners who are quite tolerant of Jews but at the same time sharply prejudiced against Negroes. These data suggest special conformity pressures in the South to be anti-Negro.

A second line of evidence involves direct measurement of the crutch-type personality. Although further investigations are needed, it appears that there is no greater percentage of crutch-types in the South than elsewhere in the country. Nor is there any evidence that the kind of child-training believed to lead to the crutch-type syndrome is any more prevalent in the South than in other sections. Of course, this un-insightful type of individual does exist in the South, as the behavior of certain of the region's politicians makes blatantly clear. But the point is that the South's heightened prejudice against the Negro cannot be explained in terms of having an unusually great number of such people in its population.

A final line of evidence comes from research on conformity itself. One study of four small southern towns established that those whites who were more conforming in other aspects of the culture also tended to be the most anti-Negro. As an illustration, women tended to be both more conforming in general and more prejudiced against Negroes than were men. Likewise, white Southerners who were less conforming and who had had experiences outside of the South tended to be the least anti-Negro. Young southern veterans, for instance, who served in the desegregated armed forces comprised a group that had seen the outside world. They tended to be considerably less anti-Negro when compared with non-veterans of the same age and education. This study, by the way, was repeated in four small northern towns, and these conformity findings from the South were not true for the North. In short, in the South, conformity leads to anti-Negro prejudice and nonconformity leads to tolerance.

Why should conformity be so important in the attitudes of white Southerners toward Negro Southerners? The answer to this question takes us back into the dark, tragic history of the region, its entanglement with slavery, a lost war, poverty, and segregation. For our psychological purposes, suffice it to say that the legacy of this tragic history is still to be found in the Jim Crow system of racial separation and the rigorous pressures that keep both white and Negro Southerners obeying the oppressive system. In many

ways, this racist legacy of the past is dissipating. As the modern South races into the twentieth century world of urbanization and industrialization, its traditions from the nineteenth century naturally weaken. But while crumbling, the segregationist wall and the state of mind imprisoned by it are still real forces in the life of any Southerner.

When translated into individual terms these remnants of a white supremacy culture require the white Southerner, even when he possesses a personality that is predisposed toward tolerance, to support segregation and to be prejudiced against Negroes. Of course, with each new generation, more white Southerners firmly reject these pressures, but they become to some extent outcasts. When a white Southerner's parents and siblings are racially prejudiced, when his teachers and his peers at school are racially prejudiced, when his limited world accepts racial discrimination as the way things must be done, when his non-conformity means certain social ostracism, then his anti-Negro attitudes need not be a part of a crutch-type personality. They are merely a reflection of what his culture expects and demands of him.

What then are the implications of this pattern of southern conformity for the future of desegregation? One primary implication involves the importance of changing the South's racist norms, rather than trying to change white Southerners themselves. For its success, the desegregation process needs to evolve a new system of race relations for conforming Southerners to follow. Indeed, this is precisely what the desegregation process is doing as it relentlessly, step-by-step, destroys the old Jim Crow system of segregation. Once the racist system that the Southerner is now following is destroyed, once the expectation that he must act like a white supremacist is altered, the conforming bigot will become a conforming integrationist.

The relentless progress of desegregation also effects some crutch-types in the South. They are not completely blind to the racial changes going on about them, and they can at least sense the inevitability of the process, even if they do not change their attitudes toward it. I shall always remember a preacher of a small non-denominational sect in

Little Rock I interviewed during the 1957 school desegregation crisis. He was a staunch and sincere segregationist. As we finished the research interview he told me that there was one thing about race relations that bothered him. Eagerly I asked him what it was. He said, "Son, see that beautiful old pulpit, up there in the front of the church? Well, a hundred years ago a preacher used to get up in that same pulpit and he used to deliver some of the most brilliant Christian defenses of slavery you ever heard. But if I stood in that pulpit today and delivered those defenses of slavery that he used to give, I'd be laughed clear out of this church. Now today I'm delivering brilliant, absolutely brilliant, Christian defenses of segregation in that same pulpit. But you see what worries me, son? A hundred years from now if another preacher gets up in that beautiful old pulpit and delivers *my* brilliant defenses of segregation, I'm afraid he'll be laughed out of the church, too!"

Armed with these insights, we can begin to see the true genius behind the Negroes' non-violent sit-in and freedom ride protests. These demonstrations did not attack prejudiced attitudes directly, but instead attacked the root of the problem—the discriminatory system itself. Always well-dressed, well-groomed, and dignified, these young Negroes demand that they be judged and treated according to the universalistic standards of decorum and decency, rather than the South's particularistic standard of skin color. Their protests have uniquely challenged the conforming bigot, for they have uniquely challenged the system to which the conforming bigot adheres.

This perspective also reveals how important it is for white, as well as Negro, Southerners to defy the system openly. In this connection, let us examine the findings of a classic experiment on conformity conducted by the eminent social psychologist, Solomon Asch of Swarthmore College. The experiment involved eight students who sat in a row guessing aloud, one after the other, the lengths of lines they were looking at. The first seven students were assistants of the experimenter, while the eighth student, seated last, was a genuine subject who thought the other seven were subjects

just like himself. On many of the guesses, the seven assistants, as preinstructed by the experimenter, deliberately gave an obviously incorrect estimate; the real subject, seated eighth and watched by the other seven, faced unanimous pressure to conform by making a similarly incorrect estimate. On about 33 per cent of such guesses, he yielded to the group; like the others, he would estimate, for instance, a five-inch line as four inches. Later, when Asch disturbed the unanimity of the group by having just one of the seven assistants give the correct estimate, the subject yielded to the group pressure only 10 per cent, rather than 33 per cent, of the time. Once unanimity no longer existed, once there was at least one supporting colleague, the subject could better withstand the pressure of the majority to conform.

Carrying this analogy through to today's crisis in the South, obvious five-inch lines are being widely described as four inches. From all directions, loud and conspicuous spokesmen of the white South proclaim that desegregation can be stopped, that Negroes would be happy were it not for those wild-eyed agitators who keep coming down from the North, and that somehow the whole trend of history can be avoided. Many white Southerners, faced with what appears to be solid unanimity, submit, just like Asch's students, to the distortion. But when respected sources—ministers, newspaper editors, and college professors — break the segregationist unanimity, we may then expect a dramatic shift in the behavior and attitudes of conforming Southerners. This is why one cannot overestimate the importance of a liberal columnist like Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution*, who throughout the desegregation process has continuously related in plain and unambiguous language the hard truths that segregationists attempt to deny and suppress.

Still another implication of the crucial role of conformity in Southern race relations concerns the acceptance of desegregation after it has been accomplished. As noted earlier, the conforming bigot does not need racism in the same sense that the crutch-type bigot needs it; hence, the many conforming Southerners can far more easily adjust themselves to the changing racial scene. Indeed, Tom Paine recognized

this phenomenon and discussed it in the opening paragraph of his revolution-stirring document of 1776, *Common Sense*:

> *"A long habit of not thinking a thing* wrong, *gives it a superficial appearance of being* right, *and an attempt to change it raises at first a formidable outcry in defense of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason."*

This acute perception of two centuries ago, helps us to understand the acceptance of desegregated schools in Oklahoma during the 1950's. Like other white residents of Southern and border states, Oklahomans had developed, in Paine's words, a long habit of not thinking segregation wrong. And they raised "a formidable outcry in defense of custom" right after the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision. In fact a public opinion poll in 1954 concluded that the vast majority of white Oklahomans sternly objected to the desegregation of public schools. Yet, after just a few years of firm political leadership, these same people had accepted without serious incident desegregated education throughout most of their state. In Paine's words again, "... the tumult soon subsides. Time makes more converts than reason."

It would seem safe to surmise that the success of Oklahoma's school desegregation was due largely to the existence of a large number of conforming individuals who were able to shift their behavior easily when the situation shifted. This would suggest a label for these conforming people: latent liberals. In intergroup relations they are liberals, in the sense that they are neither anti-Semitic nor crutch-type in personality. They are latent, however, in their intergroup liberalism, since they still comply with the pressures around them to be anti-Negro. Comply, that is, until such time, as in Oklahoma, when the racial practices change. But let us not confuse this latent liberal with the cherished southern notion of the "moderate." This slippery term "moderate" usually refers to relatively well educated white Southerners who wish to be polite segregationists; they include in their number crutch-types as well as latent liberals.

Examining the desegregation process from the perspective of personality, we have noted two polar varieties on the continuum of prejudice: the un-insightful crutch-type and the conforming latent liberal. Available evidence strongly suggests that the South's greater intolerance of the Negro arises from a white supremacist culture to which many latent liberals continue to conform rather than from any unusually large percentage of crutch-types in its population. Some cynics have argued that successful racial desegregation in the South will require an importation of tens of thousands of clinical psychologists and psychiatrists to give intensive therapy to millions of bigoted Southerners. Fortunately, this will not be necessary. A thorough re-patterning of southern interracial behavior will be sufficient therapy in itself for the many latent liberals.